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Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 236100

TOSEC 181

FOLLOWING REPEAT LONDON 13951 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA, ATHENS, NICOSIA, USUN NEW YORK & NATO DATED 25 OCTOBER 1974:

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 13951

E.O.11652: XGDS-1
TTAGS: PFOR, CY, UK, TU
SUBJECT: CALLAGHAN'S TALK WITH DENKTASH OCTOBER 22: SETTLEMENT PROSPECTS

1. SUMMARY: DENKTASH EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO MAKE SOME CONCESSIONS PRELIMINARY TO NEGOTIATIONS BUT FEARED MAKARIOS' RETURN. HE REQUIRES CLERIDES' ACCEPTANCE OF BIREGIONAL FEDERALISM AS ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE BEFORE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BEGIN. HE IS WAITING UNTIL AFTER GREEK ELECTIONS BUT DOES NOT FEEL HE NEED AWAIT SOLUTION OF TURKISH GOVERNMENT PROBLEMS. HE ENVISAGES GENEVA-TYPE CONFERENCE, AND MORE WORK FOR CALLAGHAN, IN THE FUTURE, GROWING OUT OF HIS TALKS WITH CLERIDES. HE SPOKE CONFIDENTLY OF HIS NEW BARGAINING STRENGTH DERIVING
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FROM CONTROL OF SO MUCH TERRITORY, BUT SHOWED HIS OLD

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FEARS OF ENOSIS HAVE NOT DISAPPEARED. END SUMMARY.

2. DENKTASH ARRIVED IN LONDON OCTOBER 22, LATER THAN ORIGINALLY EXPECTED, AND MET WITH FONSEC CALLAGHAN SAME DAY. THERE WAS LUNCH WITH OTHER OFFICIALS INCLUDED. DENKTASH IS WAITING HERE TO SEE IF HE WILL BE INVITED TO ADDRESS UNGA PLENARY. HE SAYS HE WILL NOT GO TO NEW YORK IF HE IS NOT. HIGHLIGHTS OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH CALLAGHAN AS GIVEN TO US BY FCO DEPT. HEAD GOODISON ARE REPORTED BELOW AND IN SEPARATE TELEGRAMS.

3. DENKTASH STUCK TO FAMILIAR LINE. HE SAID HE WAS WILLING TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO CLERIDES TO GET SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS STARTED BUT WAS AFRAID MAKARIOS WOULD COME BACK, TAKE THE CONCESSIONS, AND BEGIN AFRESH. CLERIDES DOES NOT HAVE ENOUGH AUTHORITY. EVEN AFTER HIS RESIGNATION CRISIS, HE IS STILL SOUNDING OUT TURKS SO AS TO REFER PROPOSALS BACK TO MAKARIOS. CALLAGHAN REPLIED HE AGREED THIS WAS A RISK. BUT WHAT WERE TURKISH CHOICES? FAILURE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS WOULD TOPPLE CLERIDES AND THEN TURKS WOULD HAVE MAKARIOS TO DEAL WITH AGAIN. PROSPECTS OF EARLY SETTLEMENT WOULD FADE. (COMMENT: HOWEVER, BRITISH DID NOT TAKE OCCASION TO SOUND OUT DENKTASH AS TO JUST HOW MUCH NEGOTIATING AUTHORITY HE HIMSELF HAD--AND HOW MUCH HE WOULD HAVE TO REFER BACK TO ANKARA.)

4. DENKTASH AGREED WITH CALLAGHAN THAT PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS WOULD HAVE TO AWAIT RESULTS OF GREEK ELECTIONS. HE DENIED SOLUTION OF TURKISH GOVERNMENT DIFFICULTIES IS NECESSARY BEFORE SETTLEMENT CAN BE REACHED. ALL TURKISH POLITICAL PARTIES ARE UNITED ON THEIR CYPRUS POLICY, HE SAID. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO AWAIT NEXT SPRING'S ELECTIONS.

5. HE WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE A LIMITED WITHDRAWAL AS A FIRST GESTURE, DENKTASH SAID, AND ALLOW 10-20,000 GREEK CYPRIOTS TO RETURN. HOWEVER, FAMAGUSTA NEW CITY WILL HAVE TO BE LEFT TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. IN JULY,DENKTASH CONTINUED, HE AND CLERIDES HAD CONFIDENTIAL

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AGREED TO WORK OUT A PRODUCT BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND THEN GIVE IT A NAME. NOW THE PROCESS HAS TO BE REVERSED. CLERIDES MUST FIRST ACCEPT A NAME: "BIREGIONAL FEDERATION." THEN THE NATURE OF THAT PRODUCT COULD BE WORKED OUT. CANTONAL SOLUTION IS NO LONGER PRACTICAL. FOR ONE THING SOME OF THE TURKISH ENCLAVES HAVE DISAPPEARED.

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7. NEGOTIATIONS WERE NEVER SUCCESSFUL IN THE PAST BE-
CAUSE TURKS DID NOT HAVE ENOUGH PEOPLE. GREEKS ALWAYS
DEMANDED CONTROL. NOW, DENKTASH SAID, HE HAS GOTTEN
ENOUGH LAND AND CAN NEGOTIATE ON AN EQUAL BASIS. (HERE
GOODISON OPINED TO US THAT HE PERSONALLY HAS NO DOUBT
TURKISH IDEA OF A FEDERATION IS ONE OF ABSOLUTE EQUALITY
BETWEEN TWO ZONES, UNRELATED TO RELATIVE POPULATION. HE
SUSPECTS THAT WILL BE END PRODUCT OF ANY NEGOTIATION.)

8. EVENTS ON CYPRUS HAD BEEN VERY UPSETTING, DENKTASH
ASSERTED. GREEK AND TURKISH PRIME MINISTERS WOULD HAVE
TO COME TO CYPRUS IN THE EVENT OF A SETTLEMENT TO TELL
THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES THAT SETTLEMENT WAS FINAL.
WHEN CALLAGHAN ASKED IF DENKTASH THOUGHT GREEK PREMIER
WOULD BE WILLING TO DO THIS, DENKTASH READILY EXPRESSED
DOUBT. GREEKS ARE STILL PRISONERS OF THE IDEA OF ENOSIS
HE SAID. CALLAGHAN NOTED THAT IN TALKING WITH HIM BOTH
MAVROS AND GUNES HAD SAID ENOSIS IS DEAD. DENKTASH IN-
SISTED THAT EVEN SOVIETS ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND
DEPTH OF ENOSIS FEELING AND FACT MAKARIOS HIMSELF IS
STILL WEDDED TO THAT IDEA. SOVIETS HAVE SENT FOR MORE
COPIES OF HIS (UNIDENTIFIED) BOOK ON ENOSIS, DENKTASH
ADDED.

9. CALLAGHAN ASSURED DENKTASH OF HIS OWN WILLINGNESS TO
BE HELPFUL IN SETTLEMENT EFFORTS IF THE PARTIES DESIRED
HIS HELP. DENKTASH SAID CALLAGHAN WAS RESPECTED AND
THERE WOULD EVENTUALLY BE A GREAT DEAL HE COULD DO--BUT
LATER. HE REPLIED IN AFFIRMATIVE WHEN CALLAGHAN ASKED
IF HE ENVISAGED POSSIBILITY OF GENEVA-TYPE TALKS. THAT
IS WHAT "PEOPLE" ARE TRYING TO LEAD TO THROUGH HIS TALKS
WITH CLERIDES, DENKTASH SAID. ANNENBERG UNQTE INGERSOLL

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